/109 cont./
*101 susceptible to stimulus (40).

40. The appearance of their homes in Acuaricuara confirms the impression that they are more decayed. It is true that in November of 1953 two Suryana families were building the two best houses of the missionary povoado. About the moral decadence, the fact that a father was living maritally with his daughter. It must be pointed out that the Tukano did not accept a Suryana as a labor overseer; nevertheless, in the Mission school the two most intelligent young men were Suryana.

[171]
[835]
[829]
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In Acuaricuara we found Suryana married to Tukano and to Desana; matrimonial interdiction is thus not in force between these tribes. Exogamy is also mandatory among the Suryana.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. We found some groups on the headwaters of the Papurí and on the river Paca (Acuaricuara and surroundings). They are not to be confused with the Širyaná of Arwake origin located on the Demêni, whom Curt K. identified with the Bahuna.

According to the information obtained in Acuaricuara, the Suryana tribe is greatly reduced in members. There would be about 250 individuals: 120 in S. Geraldo (river Paca), 80 in Vinha-igarapé, 30 in Uiva-igarapé, and 20 in Tapira-cachoeira (river Paca).

[115] /110/ 3) Divisions. -- Informant Manoel Rodriguez from Acuaricuara.

1. Tu-boá (?), in S. Geraldo
2. Behé burisêra (Suryana tapurú /caterpillar/), in Vinha-igarapé
3. Wiva (arrow), in Uíva-igarapé (river Paca, above Tapira-cachoeira)

/305 cont./

*192 534

6th. -- Varejeira. In Tukano it is called mõxtẽ-poro, which means precisely mosca-varejeira /blowfly/. It is a small flute of imbauba about 30 centimeters long, with a vertical orifice, as in general among the flutes. They play it in the intervals between the dances. The sounds imitate articulations of words, and thus the young men address sexual invitations to the young women. It is what is called puxtĩ-weresã, to complain playing the flute (cf. VII -- 1).

[832]

7th. -- Mawáko. Under this name come two different types of flutes: 1st) an imbauba fife, may reach up to a meter in length; 2nd) a small flute 12 to 15 centimeters long, with a side orifice, in the center, also of imbauba.

[835]

8th. -- There are various types of pipes or whistles that they use in the dances, whistling rhythmically in the intervals between the songs. One of them is of taboca, has the shape of a common pipe about 10 centimeters long, with the hole for blowing at the upper end, and it is used in the dance called wá'wa-ri baxsá (dance of the arumã head-piece).

Another, also of taboca, and of the size of the preceding one, but with the orifice in the center.

[835]

In other dances, instead of a whistle, each man carries a piece of cipo 20 or 30 centimeters in length, the bark of which comes off very easily, remaining as a sheath. Holding this sheath tightly with the left hand, and with the right one pulling the pith of /306/ the cipo, there results from the attrition a very shrill whistling. This whistle is called simiõ-mi.

9th. -- Jabutĩ. It is prepared from the carapace of the jabutĩ /land turtle/, from which comes the name, úhuri in Tukano, dug out in such a way that the shell remains intact. Afterwards the holes are in part obturated with breu. The instrument is held tightly under the left arm, while the open right hand goes to rubbing with force the lip of the upper orifice; it will then emit a hoarse sound similar to that of the cuica /an amphibious rat/.

/380 cont./

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/footnote 101 cont./ practice licit or illicit sexual relations in front of them. Perhaps, yes, in front of some who are better acquainted with them, and with whom they might have had relations. Cf. what will be said about the female initiation.

• 835

There is only one interdiction, but a strict one, against sexual relations (and the same for the different tribes that we mention in this study), those that take place between blood brothers and sisters, or brothers and sisters in the strict sense, that is, between children of the same parents. These, as well as relations between parents and children, take on a religious character, for this reason are licit, or even advisable and imposed in given circumstances (puberty rite, eclipse, new moon, caxiris, and in the clearing), and outside of that only secretly.

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The woman, legally, can take the initiative in these relations, which happens frequently among single persons. In practice, especially between married persons, due to the feeling of inferiority which dominates her, the woman almost always waits for the invitation of the men. She can never, however, peremptorily refuse, even in the face of prostration of her physical state and the multiplicity of the suitors.

It must further be mentioned that the Australian Pirraũru is also in force among the Uaupesinos. That is, when the husband must /381/ go away, he invites one of his blood brothers (he is the first one designated, unless the husband has had a fight with him, as comes from the information) or a tribal brother to replace him in the habitual conjugal relations (102).

102. Two informants stated that it fell to the wife to invite this brother-in-law. It seems that this information may be based on events perhaps explained by the forgetfulness or sudden departure of the absent husband. The official notice to his substitute falls to him.

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• 835 All the informants agreed in stating that this substitute could beget children with the wife of the one absent (103).

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103. In September of 1955 the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, on a trip of religious and sanitary assistance on the river Papuri, encountered, among the Christian natives of the locality called Melo Franco, an episode that confirms the above information which we had obtained two years before. That is, a married Tukano Indian had been absent for two years, in order to work in the seringals of Colombia. During his absence his brother maintained sexual relations with the absent man's wife, a child being born out of these adulterous relations.

835 As for the paternity, however, the answer was not in agreement.
851 Two asserted that the child would be regarded as the child of the true father; while the rest stated that it would be considered the child of the absent husband. Some even added that if he is "good" (sic) he will give thanks for the service that the substitute rendered him, satisfying his wife and giving him a child. It must be pointed out clearly that no financial obligation for supporting the family of the absent husband intervenes for the substitute.

842 It seems to us that one can conclude that this partial discrep-
847 ancy of the information is explained by knowing: 1st -- that formerly the absences must not have been very prolonged, so as to create the problem whose solution we had asked for; 2nd -- that there is frequent use of sterilization and abortive agents, and that the woman regularly seeks to make the interval between her deliveries a space of two or more years.

581 From the above information we think it is to be inferred that the official marriage only aims at the determination of paternity and, therefore, the determination of the tribe to which the child belongs and which attends to (father and mother) its rearing.

/386 cont./

881 All these premarital relations (115)

833 *[192]

115. Since 1947 we have known about this official and public character of the relations of the maidens with the pajé, the Komũ, the young man of her amõsé (VIII-1, b (7b)), and her fiancé, Mã-ra-põ nỹãkhõ. And we have spoken of this since that time. Today we know that these legal licenses have a much greater extension.

take place in public and officially in the maloca or house, thus [628] like the marital ones. They commonly happen between elements of the same tribe, and in some cases also between different tribes.

The Maku maidens and women, while they are working for 567 the occupants of the maloca, find themselves in the legal position 831 of concubines of all of them. It is a kind of service that they 648 must render, without being able to refuse or receiving any pay for it.

588 When, as an exception, an Indian of another tribe served for 628 the amõsé of the maiden (we know of various cases in Urubucuara, 648 Pinú-pinú, Pari-cachoeira), or some civilized person (we have likewise been told of cases with Colombian and Brazilian indi- 833 viduals), the relations are permitted indefinitely with this one, 881 too, and not only on the part of the maiden. "He became one of the family" was the expression that we heard.

588 The affinity with the wife's tribe that the legal marriage entails, moreover, makes sexual relations with the "relatives • 835 /387/ of the woman" legal; relatives in the broad sense of the native expression, that is, covering all those of her povoado or "Gens."

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582 /387 cont./

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836 /footnote 117 cont./ by the Monfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Linpens /sic/.)

• 835 Even more infrequent (it is true that they practice so many sexual liberties and are such small groups that such cases could not be numerous) is incestuous concubinage between parents and children (118).

118. A public case in Teresita (river Papuri) between a Desana individual, who would not find a wife, and his own mother.

[842] [847] In these cases they always avoid children, not only with the help of the puçangas /potions/, but also through physical and mechanical processes (119).

119. We learned of a man in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, who had two children from the relations with his own daughter: one was aborted in a few months, and the other one lived only a short time after its birth.

2) Extramarital liberties.

831 We thought at first, and so did the Missionaries, that the licentiousness of the periodic caxiris was merely an eclipse in the upright and normal sexual life of the natives.

It has already been noted that in the most solemn ones, the Dabacuris, the body paintings are executed by persons of the other sex.

[797] /388/ In any caxiri, when excited by the drinks, liberties take place. Outside of the caxiri, testifies Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, "they are aware (120)

120. This concept of the Missionary can

/388 cont./

831
[797]

/footnote 120 cont./ only be applied, obviously, to the Christian Indians, instructed in Christian morals; but not at all to the others.

that it is bad, ya'ã, and, on the other hand, are very full of shame (?), for this reason they try to hide their miseries and become intoxicated in order to act with more freedom."

[115]

They are not embarrassed, however (confirmed another veteran and equally well-deserving Montfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Limpens, of Acuaricuara, who has spent almost 40 years among those tribes), about the immoral occurrences in these circumstances. Sometimes they even boast of them as being conquests.

As a conclusion from the testimony and inquiries made in various circumstances and in different places among the most reliable individuals in them, we can affirm that they judge licit, good, and recommended the sexual relations during the caxiris, as well as those that we characterize as incestuous (121).

[835]

121. Incest by the father with his own daughters is narrated in the legend of the mysterious instruments. And the same is found in other legends. We did not hear, in the legends, about cases of concubinage between "blood brothers and sisters" or brothers and sisters by the same parents. It seems that this does cause them horror.

They even take on, according to what they think and testified, a religious character. As a matter of fact, some informants answered that these sexual liberties used to take place "for the good fortune of the tribe," "in order that the clearing would yield better."

/388 cont./

831 Confirming this opinion is, first, the fact that the relations
833 during the caxiri must take place on the ground, outside the maloca (122),

> 122. When they are more intoxicated and excited, they also violate this custom, relations taking place even inside the maloca. So reported some of the natives.

and that in some tribes the woman must first kiss the ground; whereas the ordinary relations take place inside the maloca and in the hammock.

[241] Another confirmation of this sacred character, it seems to
[835] us, is the opinion that they regard as good and recommended the relations, even incestuous ones, when the women go to the clearing. The relations are even compulsory when it is a matter of a new clearing to which the woman is going for the first time.

[821] Finally, the religious character of the public incestuous
[835] relations is further documented by the circumstance of their indication on the occasion of the new moon and lunar eclipses.

One can conclude, then, that sexual liberties in these cir-
831 cumstances, incestuous or not, have the character of a rite in connection with /389/ the fertility of the soil and of nature in general. We have, thus, among the tribes of the Uaupés, the notion and practice of the intichiuma, which is also in force among other human groups, that is, sexual liberties are magic ceremonies in order to guarantee the reproduction of the animal or vegetable nature. They are, by the way, very common practices, proclaiming lunar beliefs and cults of matriarchalist origin.

And they constitute, in turn, proof of the religious character of their feasts.

/423 cont./

534 At the great feast of Wãx-tĩ, the most solemn part is forbidden
562 to her. She can not witness it, she can not see the mysterious
778 instrument, under the penalty of death.

She must not know the great tidings about the origins of the
784 tribe. We have the impression that the most perspicacious of the
796 women might know almost all that the most accomplished men know about the legends, but with the conviction, painful for them, of not knowing a great deal and the principal part. As a matter
[123] of fact, we have heard the same legends told by /424/ men and women (31).

31. No woman could tell us the origin of the instrument Mĩrĩ. In order not to wound the susceptibilities of the natives, we did not let them read this legend, which the men had told us in confidence, or see the instrument tabooed for them.

The totality of the men know nothing more than the women. They have only one advantage: having seen the mysterious, sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ, and having made it sound. For their part, perhaps all the women imagine that the instrument that the men sound is really Wãx-tĩ.

562 More than anything, however, the moral decadence, this
831 indeed, is maximal in the native woman of the Uaupesina tribes. Carrying the defects of a moral perversion perhaps millennial, she feels the sexual impulses commandingly. The customs facilitate their satisfaction and, therefore, also their aggravation. But, for this same reason, they put them at the mercy of the males, whom they must always heed.

[835] Daughter, and later mother, the customs go so far as to impose on her incest with a religious character. In the exercise of these relations, of course, degrading practices will not be lacking.

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869 /438 cont./
881 It has not been reported that these Indians might have the instru-
[534] ment "berra-boi" (bull-roarer).
[778] They must show proof of benefit from these instructions;
otherwise they are beaten by the Komũã. This course, although
short, is nevertheless intensive and exerts a great influence on the
[756] young men. /439/ Fear of the pajé grows in them (66),

> 66. One of the informants strongly insisted on this great fear of the pajé, because, although he does not beat them directly, he would order that the elders, the Komũã, do it.

they realize that they have ceased to be children, become serious,
grave, showing a certain pride in their behavior, because now
they are perfect citizens and able to form a family.

562 The end of this course is the incest with their own mother,
• 835 in the presence of the father and the pajé or Komũ, so testified
881 natives of several tribes. This rite marks the start of the public
sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it
secretly.

562 b) Course of female initiation -- Mõ-yõãsé (67).
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*[192]
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[126]

> 67. It has been reported that it is also practiced, and with special solemnity, among the Caboclo descendants of the Coianá Indians in the interior of the forest about three kilometers from S. Joaquim do Coané (mouth of the Uaupés). We heard the description that follows directly from persons who went through the rite, two of them immediately after the initiation, being able not only to photograph one of them with her hair cut off, but even, through the offer of a dress, obtaining the hair. Since the informants belonged to ten different tribes (Tukano, Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana,

[115]

/440 cont./

562 881 that she has not performed the rite. Nevertheless, she herself will affirm, in agreement with the others, that a woman can not marry without having submitted to these practices.

[115] Patrícia Vasconcelos gave the following explanation of the necessity for the rite, according to the instruction obtained from her uncle Marco from S. Luzia, river Papuri. /441/ "The maiden [192] has the nihĩ-koró (vagina?) inverted, and for this reason the child cannot come out. /The final quotation marks are missing./ The pajé or Ko-mũ is going to put it "in the proper position" by means [192] of the rite and the coitus. The rite, besides this, makes "the nihĩ-su'ti-ro, uterus, not grow very much, because in this case she would have two children at a time and this is a disgrace for the woman."

This rite is essentially equivalent to the "religious defloration" that other human groups practice. However, due to the previous liberties, although without an official character (rather they must be hidden), which take place even between children and adults, the girl, upon reaching menstruation, already has the hymen ruptured. This, then, is of no importance in the rite. An official coitus, mõ-yoãsé, however, takes place on the first day (and in some povoados also on the following days) with a young man chosen by the girl or by her father (72).

72. The choice of the young man is made by the girl herself in some places, and in others, povoados and malocas, by her father. A young Tukano from Pari-cachoeira declared that she did not like the young man whom her father had chosen. It seems that where there are more Komũã the choice of the executor of the rite is [835] always by the father of the maiden. If the father is Komũã, he himself will execute the rite with his daughter. We do not know whether this is also an obligation of his. From a Komũã of Juquira, river Uaupés, we found out that he personally did it with his three daughters, as one of them informed

/441 cont./

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/footnote 72 cont./ us. The services of the pajé or Komũ are always remunerated, as well as those of the mõ-paxkoá; not, however, those of the young man. He is not the future husband, who must belong to another tribe, and the young man of the a"mõsé regularly is of the same tribe as the maiden. A young Makú added that the young man was her obligatory partner at dances, as we were later able to verify.

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[648]

and, on the last day of the rite, with the Komũ or pajé (73).

73. It is to be noted that, according to the descriptions that we obtained, the first coitus is not with the pajé or Komũ, as one might expect, but with the young man.

The concept that the one chosen should be the hero of the group, recognized after a fight with others, as is done among some tribes, has declined. Among the Uaupesinos there is no test to determine the choice; there is only one quality in favor of the chosen one, his youth. Some maidens affirmed that he was a "strong young man." On the rivers visited by the civilized, the latter may be chosen for such a function, and they have done it. For such a choice, we think that not only does the native's instinct of self-interest enter in, but also the white is supposed to have a special nature (74),

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74. Many times and under different circumstances the native has manifested the opinion that the civilized person is endowed with a nature different from that of the Indian. This was the answer that the tuxaua from Paricachoeira, Julio, gave to Pe. João Marchesi, who assured him that he should not fear the

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

593 A brother and a sister who are close to one another in age and who show a fondness for one another are regarded as being linked in a bond that is both warmer and more specialized than the normal bonds between a brother and a sister. The girl is spoken of as "belonging" to her brother. The boy prepares a manioc garden for his sister and she in turn barters a good part of her farinha production in his behalf, getting him fishhooks, ammunition, jewelry, and items of clothing. He will always bring something for her. If he wishes to act as host in a drinking party his assigned special sister has a particular obligation to assist in the preparation of chicha. They do not exchange the ordinary male-female foodstuffs since that is strictly a connubial form of reciprocity and the unmarried are part of their parents' household. They do simulate a conjugal relationship, though, in that they reportedly allow themselves the intimacy of external coitus (i.e., without intromission). On the other hand, since the girl has been allotted to her brother to be part of an exchange marriage, he assumes the right to offer his sister's sexual favors to persons of his choosing, although, as in the case of an exchange marriage, he cannot force her to accept a man against her will.

593 583 As the Cubeo explain it, the purpose of the brother-sister relationship is to provide for the boy's marriage. Since the most desirable marriages are those in which brothers exchange sisters, a boy, they say, must have a sister assigned to him if he is to have a strong bargaining position. The Cubeo do recognize the validity of a material bride price, but very few families will readily yield a daughter merely for objects. They want a daughter-in-law to replace a daughter. Exchange marriages are complicated because it does not often happen that the exchange can be immediate. The delay in completing an exchange transaction calls for a reliable guarantee that the agreement will be adhered to. For this, several recourses are available. The ultimate recourse is force. The aggrieved party will raid a household that has reneged and hope to abduct a bride, or, more commonly, love magic will be used to lure the girl away. The most assured contract is one involving cross-cousins, since it draws upon the absolute probity of relationship between a brother and a sister, who are always principals in such a marriage negotiation. But even this has a loophole in that the girl must be willing. By and large, it is the attitude of the bride-to-be that the Cubeo regard as unpredictable. If she enters upon a marriage with reservations that are not removed soon after she has been taken to her husband's community she can be counted upon to run home and stir up complications. The special brother-sister relationship is intended to guard against this. On one

583 58 [593] [593]

[244] [437] [273] [261] [592] [835] [836] [583]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe.

Menstrual blood (*hive*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic dreams she knows that the moon will come to her.

SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy.

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis.